'We want peaceful industry in Stevenage'—*Builders*

PEACE NEWS

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TOKEN STRIKE AGAINST MISSILES

MEMBERS OF AT LEAST TWO TRADE UNIONS IN STEVENAGE (HERTS), THE BRITISH MISSILE TOWN, HAVE SAID THEY WILL STAGE A ONE-HOUR TOKEN STRIKE TODAY (FRIDAY) IN SUPPORT OF THE ANTI-MISSILE CAMPAIGN WHICH THE DIRECT ACTION COMMITTEE AGAINST NUCLEAR WAR COMMENCED THERE LAST WEEK.

The unions are the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers and the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers.

Their members will march to the square in the New Town Centre where trade union speakers and members of the Direct Action Committee will address a mass meeting betwen 4 p.m. and 6 p.m.

At their branch meeting last Friday the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers also called upon their members not to work upon construction on either of the two large missile firms in the area.

They further agreed to help financially any member of their union who left work on the missile factories for reasons of conscience and to assist him in finding alternative employment. The action of the AUBTW is all the more potent in view of the falling off of building work in the area.

Letters of protest against missile production have been sent by the union to the Russian and American Embassies, to Mr. Macmillan and to Martin Maddan, Conservative MP for the constituency. Requests to the Development Corporation to bring in peaceful industry have come from the AUBTW and the ASW.

'Benefit mankind'

Building workers, who number about 1,200 in the area, were notified of the token strike in a letter from the chairman and secretary of the local branch of the AUBTW, Bert Lowe and John Marney, and Michael Randle and Pat Arrowsmith, of the Direct Action Committee, which called for:

"Work for all, for the benefit of mankind, not for its destruction, whatever race or creed is our aim. Be sane and make it your aim as well. Let the generals of all nations play at Tiddly Winks. It will be safer.

"Motion: 'That the Development Corporation be strongly pressed to set up peaceful industries in the New Town and thus enable the workers to do work that will benefit mankind and not destroy it.'

"Note mankind includes you, your wife and your children.

"Help to make the children's future in this world safe: it depends on you. Show that you are on the side of peace and mankind. It's well worth while."

The industrial background to the Stevenage campaign, launched immediately after Easter by the Direct Action Committee, is that about half the workers in the area are employed at the two missile-producing factories of De Havilland Propellors and English Electric, while a large proportion of the other industries supply these two factories. The New Town has already been nicknamed "Missileville."

NEW TOWN BUILDERS SUPPORT DIRECT ACTION

This week speakers from the Direct Action Committee have been addressing a number of other union branch meetings. On Wednesday, April 1, Michael Randle, Chairman, and Pat Arrowsmith, Field Organiser of the Direct Action Committee, discussed the anti-missile campaign with the area Trades Council, which decided to refer the issue back to individual unions for consideration.

'Down tools'

Both support and opposition was shown for the anti-missile campaign during the discussion. Trades Council Chairman, J. Grice expressed his own view:

"I think it would be a wonderful thing if everybody who worked in these factories in Stevenage downed tools and stopped work—even if only for one day. It would be a smack in the eye for the Government."

The campaign in Stevenage has consisted of leafleting the whole area, poster parading, door-to-door canvassing and open-air speaking.

In the leaflet, the Direct Action Committee have called upon all living in Stevenage to protest at the way their New Town, built to house the homeless of World War II, is being used. It also calls upon everyone to realise his own individual responsibility: workers in the missile factories to seek other employment, tradesmen and contractors to stop supplying goods to the missile firms, those seeking employment in these firms to look for work elsewhere, and all to protest to the local MP and the Government against the production of rockets and H-bombs.

Positive appeal

The positive appeal of the leaflet has also been included in two letters which are the basis of the door-to-door canvass. One calls upon the Development Corporation for alternative constructive and peaceful industry to be brought into Stevenage.

Many canvassers report that one in two residents are signing this letter while support is surprising for the second letter calling for a financial pledge to help any worker who may leave the missile factories.

By Tuesday, well over 400 inhabitants had signed the first leaflet, and over 30 had pledged contributions.

The first open-air meeting was held last Friday in the New Town Centre and drew a crowd of interested shoppers. The local Labour Party were arranging a public meeting to be addressed by Pat Arrowsmith yesterday.

The campaign will close on Saturday, April 11, with a meeting in the New Town Centre between 3 and 5 p.m. at which Dr. Soper, Benn Levy and Dr. Alex Comfort will speak.

The Direct Action Committee's campaign has made front page headline news in the two local newspapers and the token strike has been reported in the national press. One of the local newspapers reported that many of the workers at the missile factories have been accepting another leaflet, given out by the poster paraders, in which Dr. Einstein says he would have been a locksmith had he realised how his theory which led to the splitting of the atom would be misused.

A further story of the events in Stevenage will appear in Peace News next week.

Cyprus: UK's mammoth base

THE British Army's base in Dhekelia in Cyprus is not going to be run down to only 6,000 soldiers, as was forecast by Mr. Duncan Sandys, the Minister of Defence, two months ago, reports the Times of Cyprus.

It is believed that the service chiefs in the island have persuaded Mr. Sandys to revise the Army run down figures.

After their consultations with London, it now appears that as many as 10,000 British soldiers will remain in Cyprus—and perhaps even more.

The final figure may be as high as 12,000 soldiers, plus up to 8,000 airmen of the Royal Air Force.

Dhekelia is to be further enlarged, with a vastly-increased budget. Already about £12,000,000 has been spent on Dhekelia; but the sprawling square miles of barracks, workshops, married quarters, schools, hospital, etc., will be bigger still.

Another £10,000,000 will be spent on the base, almost doubling the original cost and making Dhekelia Britain's biggest and costliest base in the Middle East.

Work is to begin very quickly, because Army authorities plan to pull most of the Army units now scattered about Cyprus into the Dhekelia area by the end of summer. Nicosia, surrounded by Army camps for several years past, will see very few of them left within the next few months.

Most significant of the new plans is one providing for a runway at Dhekelia—initially for air communication between Dhekelia and Akrotiri and Joint Headquarters at Episkopi, some 50 miles along the coast, but also with the long-term potential of servicing fighter aircraft to provide an alternative RAF base which would relieve pressure on Nicosia Airport, and perhaps ultimately replace Nicosia altogether in the RAF's strategic plans.

The Square, New Town Centre, Stevenage, 3 p.m. tomorrow (Sat.)

SOPER BENN LEVY COMFORT

TRAINS FROM KING'S CROSS, GREEN LINE COACH

Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War

PLEA FOR A WORLD OF PLENTY

R. O. Davies reviews

World Without War, by J. D. Bernal. Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958, 25s.

"Not merely to save the world, but primarily to save our own souls, there should again be dreamers, planners, and fighters, in the midst of our nations, who would take upon themselves the important social function in democracy of raising our sights. . . . This is only possible if they enlarge the scope of their interests to encompass the world scene."—Gunnar Myrdal in "An International Economy."

WITH the publication of "The Social Function of Science" 20 years ago Professor Bernal was marked out as a member of that small group of English scientists who have developed enough social conscience to write about political affairs.

Many members of that group have now retired from the struggle and become "established," but Bernal has persisted with a Marxist line of argument right through a period when Marxism has become almost sinful. Some of his writings during this time (e.g., an essay on dialectics and science) have been doctrinaire to the point of obscurantism.

No one can accuse him of obscurantism in "World Without War." Here he has given us a masterly and informed answer to the central problem of our times: how is it possible to harness the skills and energies of men so that everyone in the world has a decent standard of life?

★

Now most recent writings and reports on this subject (e.g., Myrdal in the book cited above, as well as numerous UN publications) have taken a limited *economic* view of the question. Bernal's central point, however, is that it is not reasonable to expect *any* substantial improvement in the lot of the under-nourished three-quarters of the world unless the Great Powers stop spending money on war and start giving long-term loans at low rates of interest to backward countries.

The most shameful fact about the present pattern of spending is that whereas the total military expenditure of the USSR and the NATO powers is running at $80 billion a year (the British national income is about $45 billion a year) the aid being given to backward countries is of the order of $2 billion a year.

With the help of UN statistics, Bernal estimates that a maximum of about $20 billion a year could be usefully absorbed as investment funds and that this amount could raise the standard of living of everyone to something approximating that of Western Europe by the turn of the century. Moreover, such a sum need not lead to a reduction in the standards of the advanced industrial countries *provided* that the Cold War is stopped and that in Britain (for example) we specialise in the production of automatic machinery, electronic equipment, nuclear power plant, etc., and increase greatly the use of science in industry.

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Nothing in this broad case will be new to readers of Peace News, but what may be new is the wealth of detailed information, guesswork, prediction and argument which Professor Bernal brings together in support of it. He starts with a short account of the effects of nuclear weapons; then he gives a thumb-nail sketch of the shattering inequalities between the poor and the rich. (Compared with an Indian, a Briton has 60 per cent more calories in his diet, six times as many doctors, 400 times as much energy to dispose of, 100 times as much steel and 100 times as much fertiliser.)

There is a detailed account of how, by using existing techniques without large-scale investment (i.e. irrigation schemes and fertilisers), it would be possible to double the area of cultivated land within five years and at least to provide enough food for everyone. Some external help would be necessary in the early stages, but with excess food being produced and unused capacity for producing farm implements already available, especially in the US, this would not be *technically* difficult.

Bernal sees the existence of a self-regenerating industrial base as the essential guarantee against exploitation for any largish concentration of people. Therefore, he argues, the next stage after raising food production must be the building of new centres of industry in Africa, India, China and South America. It is of course for this stage that large sums of capital are desperately needed.

★

It cannot possibly be supplied privately because there are more profitable fields for investment in centres already established. Therefore it must be done by Government action, preferably through an international agency like SUNFED. Governments are, however, unwilling to do this at present because an easier and more controllable outlet of excess productive capacity is found in the making of military gear.

The political problem is therefore how to push governments towards the alternative scheme. At this point Bernal (like the rest of us) can only express the hope that people will see the need for vigorous action along the lines he suggests before either a nuclear or an economic catastrophe is upon us.

There are numerous "asides" about science and education in this book. For example, in discussing waste he considers (together with the well-known cases of paper pulp and coal) the use of steel in buildings. It seems that, thanks to out-of-date specifications, architects can be obliged to put into a building something between two and ten times the amount of steel that it needs. Again, he has some harsh remarks to make about our school syllabuses which are a kind of geological record of education in the past with stratum after stratum laid down: the Greek and Roman Classic, the Mediæval Scholastic, the Renaissance Humanist and the Gradgrind have all left their traces.

★

This is not a book for pedants. Apart from the odd mistake (such as the remark, p. 229, that the population of Belgium is one thirteenth that of India) Bernal is sometimes led to make exaggerated or untrue claims. For example, it is one thing to be against the "streaming" system in English education and another to conclude (p. 195) that ". . . there are more young people of promise to be found among the rejected 80 per cent than among the successful 20 per cent." Again, a fascinating "flow diagram" of the English education system (p. 180)—which is broadly correct—gives the quite false impression that *half* the university students come from private and grant-aided schools. (This diagram is part of a set of three which cover England, Iran and USSR.)

When all qualifications have been made this book remains an exciting and inspiring document from a man who has a deep and abiding desire to prevent starvation and misery. It will be a powerful stimulus to all those working against war and for the rational and constructive use of science. It may even make some trained scientists who are working on guided missiles, nuclear weapons and germ warfare, have uneasy thoughts about the prostitution of their talents.

"What would you do if . . ?"

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GERMANY: MILITARISM REVISITED

I—Hitler's influence on the young

By Konrad Tempel

This is the first of two articles by a young German war-resister discussing the German people and their present political crisis. This week Konrad Tempel considers German war resistance, and education under the Weimar Republic and Hitler. The writer took part in the Aldermaston-London March.

WHEN Defence Minister Strauss of West Germany recently announced the registration of all men born in 1922, it was not certain that the majority of them would be delighted.

Though one could hear a lot of sharp words against the plan to conscript these war veterans, the Ministry for Defence declared some days later: "We can hardly master the flood of offers to serve."

Supposing this news is based on truth and is not a part of a psychological propaganda campaign, what does it mean?

Most of the men, now aged 37, fought and suffered in Russia during the time of glorious victories and of horrible defeats, following the massacre of Stalingrad, when in 1943 thousands of soldiers died without any confidence in the plans of Hitler. The last plane from Stalingrad brought seven sacks of letters, which were confiscated and analysed by the highest military authorities.

About 65 per cent of all letters showed that the soldiers were in their hearts against Nazism and warfare, or at least doubtful about it.

When the rest of Hitler's armies came home (the last POWs arrived in Germany in 1958) they all agreed: War is madness. We will never take part. What we have done, seen and suffered is so terrible that we have had enough of it.

Generals again

Of course, they were honest saying this. But could they stick to their opinion when time turned against them?

Only a few years after the war, when Dr. Adenauer suggested new German soldiers, some privates founded organisations for former soldiers, assisted by highly decorated officers. The old generals of Hitler's troops again called themselves "General" and the war decorations were taken out of drawers. The ex-servicemens' organisations have now won considerable influence. In addition to this, one can read nearly every day in the West German papers that the members of this regiment or that battalion are asked to see their comrades in special meetings.

The public trend in each respect was obviously against the former POWs and they could not hold their inner position. How is it that they have not got the capacity to resist this trend? This question is probably only to be answered at a distance and by scientific means.

Hitler Youth

Yet I should not evade it, though it is very hard for a German citizen to face. I cannot help supposing that along the line that I try to pursue we shall reach some of the roots of the mentality of my countrymen born in the 'twenties and now gaining more and more economic, cultural and political influence.

I mean, we have to consider the type of education these men and women have had.

In his excellent book, "Nazism—Documents, 1933-1945," the historian Walther Hofer of West Berlin says:

"The German youth was linked up with the 'Hitler Youth' organisation; in addition there was the "Reichsarbeitsdienst,' a service of manual work, and also military service. So the young people were several years under the immediate control of the State. Through that there were full possibilities to correct in the Nazi sense eventual 'educational mistakes' of school and home. Therefore it is no miracle that Hitler found in the youth his most fervid adherents and later his most fanatical fighters.

"The moral abuse and physical wear and tear to which the young German people were exposed has been monstrous and belongs to the bad inheritance of this disastrous regime."

When Hitler gained power in Germany they were 11 years old, and their image of the world and of men was formed in an atmosphere of totalitarianism. In 1936, then being 14 years of age, they had to join the Hitler youth.

The Law on the Hitler Youth from December 1, 1936, read in part:

"The future of the German people depends on the youth. All the German youth has to be prepared for their future duties.

"Besides in school and home all the German youth is to be educated physically, mentally and morally in the sense of Nazism for service for our people and for the community."

There is no doubt that their education with afternoon service twice weekly shaped youth to a very high degree. Even those children born in the early 'thirties (like myself) were enthusiastic and loved Hitler until 1945!

Unhealthy respect

In the scientific and especially educational literature on the failure of the German Weimar Republic (1918-1933), which led to Hitler, it is very often said that the peoples' education had been insufficient. The nation was not prepared for democracy because its people had not learned the elementary rules of real democratic life. They were educated in earlier years in an authoritarian atmosphere with an unhealthy respect for authority.

If that is true, and no doubt it is, how can those men of my country who have had a far more inadequate education under Hitler be firm against the trend of our time?

Next week: Anti-semitism, German patriotism and the Berlin crisis.

BLACK VIOLENCE, WHITE ATROCITIES IN NYASALAND

I SEE BRUTALITIES GALORE

By Basil Delaine

Our correspondent was the last newspaperman to see Dr. Banda before he was arrested. At one stage in his talks with African National Congressmen he was blindfolded so that he could not identify his informant or the whereabouts of his house.

He was standing outside Dr. Banda's house at sunrise when troops seized the African leader from his bed.

I HAVE just returned to South Africa from Nyasaland. In two weeks in that turbulent, beautiful conntry I have seen, and confirmed reports of, enough brutalities BY BOTH SIDES to fill a book.

Even taking into consideration the build-up of provocation by the bloody-minded attitude of the whites over many years, recent atrocities by African thugs and pseudo-political rabble must be condemned.

With their mob violence and intimidation they have brought pain, misery and material hardship to scores of Indians, Africans, Coloureds and a few white people, mainly missionaries.

One Saturday afternoon, in the shadows of the picturesque Mlanje Mountain, 200-odd Africans, whipped up into a state of mob hysteria by intoxicated leaders, stormed a group of Indian stores, looting, burning and stoning as they went.

Mob menace

In one store huddled 70 panic-stricken Indian men, women and children.

The mob swarmed over the roof of the building, ripping off the corrugated iron. Only a shot fired into the roof by one of the sheltering Indians—with the only weapon they had between them—made the mob move on.

What followed, however, was an example of White thuggery.

Maintaining that they were ordered to do so by the Government, members of the security forces indiscriminately burnt to the ground scores of African houses in the vicinity.

"This is collective punishment for the trouble started by men from this area," a headman was told by a senior Southern Rhodesian army officer.

An official enquiry is pending, say the authorities.

Dozens of brutal acts are still being perpetrated by both the White forces and the more militant section of the African population.

African violence is coming from two sources: the unemployed with criminal tendencies, and skilled saboteurs, mainly in the Northern Province.

Large number of White special constables (civilian volunteers) are committing incredible brutalities against Africans.

But the regular police, the Security Branch and troops also have a lot to answer for.

On mobile patrols through villages and townships, years of colour resentment is getting an outlet.

Dr. Banda at his last lawful public meeting attended by over 1,000 Africans at Ndirandi, African National Congress hillside headquarters, about eight miles from his European-style bungalow at Limbe. Three weeks later he was flown to the new African prison at Khami, near Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia.

Africans, many of them innocent of any political activity, have been locked in rooms and beaten with batons and rifle butts as the security forces carry out snap searches of houses.

What is aggravating this unofficial campaign of violence by the forces is the desperate urgency for the police to produce quickly evidence to substantiate the dramatic "massacre plot" claim of the authorities.

I understand that although the Nyasaland Security Branch has ample evidence of planned rioting and civil disobedience, it so far lacks sufficient evidence to charge any of the African Congress detainees with planning mass or individual killings.

Non-violent way

Since the emergency was declared on March 3 more than 50 Africans have been killed by the security forces.

Not one White has been killed. Only two have been seriously injured. They were soldiers.

Three million non-Whites in Nyasaland are clamouring for their country to secede from the Federation.

I am pleased to report that an overwhelming majority of those who are literate—and this includes Indians and Coloureds as well as Africans—condemn mob violence.

They know they must win their case the non-violent way.

A once-powerful African leader who is thinking on these lines is Wellington Chirwa, the former Federal MP and expelled Congress official.

He is likely to form a new African party even while Dr. Hastings Banda, the detained Congress leader, is still in the Khami Prison, Bulawayo.

But it will be hard going for Chirwa. Banda is still the hero of the masses.

It is with Banda's undisputed popularity in mind that I report the statement that got the biggest, bitterest laugh from Press correspondents on the spot.

Said the Governor of Nyasaland, Sir Robert Armitage, two days after he had arrested every Congress leader in the country, and had packed them off to Southern Rhodesia to be detained:

"I invite every leader of African opinion in Nyasaland to step forward now with proposals that might help solve the protectorate's problems."

Cracked George Clay, The Observer's Africa correspondent: "Is there a doctor in the house?"

PLODDING TO PEACE

IF the Aldermaston marchers walked 53 miles then some of that wonderful band of Peace News sellers who sold 3,000 copies must have walked 100 over Easter as they plodded to and fro selling the paper to sympathetic onlookers, and then trailed up and down the length of the miles-long march to collect new supplies.

"Too old to march, but my heart travels with them," writes a reader from Yorkshire, and sends 5s., the result of saving 3d. bits. Another reader matches the spirit of the marchers and sends us £1; she had saved the coppers left over from her Saturday shopping.

If you, too, feel grateful for the work done by our plodding Peace News sellers, we hope you will express it by a donation to our Fund.

THE EDITOR.

Contributions since March 27: £34 11s. 8d.

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Please makes cheques, etc., payable to Lady Clare Annesley, Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT:

A French view

THE March issue of the French review Esprit contains a report on the European Congress for Nuclear Disarmament. While agreeing that Lord Russell's international authority is the only ultimate solution, the report argues that this pre-supposes a radical change in international behaviour, and in the meantime calls on the Congress to use every possible means of pressure to bring about the cessation of tests. The report concludes with this striking paragraph:

"Admittedly, the fact that well-known people of widely differing spiritual horizons should have decided to pool the authority they have in their respective countries in an effort to bring about atomic disarmament is, in itself, a sufficient justification for the Congress. But what a lot of speeches, what a lot of big words, when what is needed is immediate action to prevent catastrophe. After all, as Karl Barth said in his message, 'Now that this subject has been sufficiently discussed, one question remains (and is it not the only real question?), that of deciding whether this opposition should not be translated into active resistance—perhaps in the form of an open invitation to refuse military service.' Let us pay attention to this question; the courageous and lucid witness of a few determined men has often been more important in the history of the world than the best organised of crusades."

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Lecture by
Swami Avyaktananda
on
HINDUISM OLD AND NEW
at Caxton Hall, Caxton Street, S.W.1
on Friday, April 10, at 7.30 p.m.

★ PEOPLE AND PLACES ★

COs in uniform

THERE is some very valuable research work waiting for someone interested in human reactions to killing in warfare.

It arises from the book "Men Against Fire," by S. L. A. Marshall, now a brigadier-general in the US Army. The following few quotes are especially interesting: ". . . we found that on an average not more than 15 per cent of the men had actually fired at the enemy positions or personnel with rifles, carbines, grenades, bazookas, BAR's, or machine-guns during the course of an entire engagement . . . the figure did not rise above 20 per cent to 25 per cent of the total for any action." (The basis for this was post-combat mass interviews with approximately 400 infantry companies in the Central Pacific and European theatres in World War II).

". . . it is elementary that in all operations those soldiers which advance but do not willingly employ their weapons still make a direct physical contribution to the success of offensive action. The effect of their presence in the zone of fire is stimulating to their comrades and even may be depressing to the morale of the enemy if it becomes revealed by his reconnaissance."

Medical Corps psychiatrists who studied combat fatigue cases in the European theatre found that "fear of killing rather than fear of being killed was the most common cause of battle failure in the individual, and that of failure ran a strong second. . . . the man who can endure the mental and physical stresses of combat still has such an inner and usually unrealised resistance toward killing a fellow man that he will not of his own volition take life if it is possible to turn away from that responsibility. Though it is improbable that he may ever analyse his own feelings so searchingly as to know what is stopping his own hand, his hand is none the less stopped. At the vital point he becomes a conscientious objector, unknowing."

Guest in your home?

MY invitation to a crowded meeting in a House of Commons Committee room which heard about preparations for this year's "People to People Week," came from a Conservative, Labour and Liberal MP.

This excellent project is concerned with fostering greater understanding between overseas visitors and British residents and is sponsored by the International Friendship League.

Between November 22 and 28 supporters of the venture are asked to organise special Church services, meetings with an international theme, social events, international exhibitions and, above all, to invite someone from overseas into their home.

Where to find the guests? The IFL have answers to almost all the questions. Write to them at Creswick Road, London, W.3.

MPs from all three parties have given support to this very constructive venture, as also have organisations representing almost every aspect of political, religious and cultural life in Britain.

Don Murray's new lead

THE organisation called HELP (Homeless European Land Programme), initiated by pacifist film star Don Murray, is really getting ahead with the job of settling some of Europe's hard core of refugees.

It has bought 130 acres of land in Sardinia and is bringing in 25 refugee families to develop and farm it and to organise small industries.

A work camp this year, organised by the Brethren Service Commission, will see volunteers helping to build homes, working with the refugees as they hoe and harvest their crops and doing the biggest job of all, helping the refugees to want to live again.

—*Phyz*

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Lessons from Japan

THE TOKYO DISTRICT COURT last week ruled that the stationing of United States military forces in Japan is a violation of the constitution.

The ruling was based upon Article Nine of the constitution, which forbids Japan to maintain ground, sea or air forces, or other war potential.

The Secretary of the Japanese Cabinet, Mr. Akagi, has said that the verdict is in no way a final legal decision.

It is, he says, the Supreme Court's function to judge whether the stationing of US troops in Japan is unconstitutional. He doubts whether Article Nine is "applicable" to the United States.

★ ★

THE SPIRIT AND LETTER of the pacifist constitution have been completely undermined.

Unconditional surrender was forced upon Japan in 1945 by the atom bombing of Hirosham and Nagasaki. The country was then occupied by military forces under General Douglas MacArthur, and in the following year the new constitution was imposed under which Japan renounced war.

Later, at General MacArthur's request, a military exercise in civilian vocabulary began. In 1950 a "National Police Reserve" of 75,000 men was recruited. This "constabulary," equipped with tanks, later became the "National Safety Force" and then the "Self-Defence Force." This year Japan aims to have 315,000 men and US equipment in its armed forces.

The United States, meanwhile, has established an extensive military structure which has nothing to do with internal administration. This, the presiding judge pointed out last week, makes it likely that the country will be involved in a war with a nation not directly concerned with Japan.

It is worth noting, incidentally, that the leading Japanese industrial combines (known as the Zaibatsu) were broken up after the war by the Allied Supreme Command, and 1,200 firms were removed from the control of 11 huge concerns. But by 1952 the pre-war position had been largely restored by Japanese business interests.

We have seen a not dissimilar story in Western Germany. There Herr Krupp has failed to break up his giant industrial combines and the country has been incorporated into NATO.

★ ★

THESE THINGS HAVE HAPPENED because of the global power struggle. Militarism today is conducted on such a vast scale that any country can become an essential requirement in the struggle.

The Great Powers, therefore, committed to this endless policy, are concerned to draw firmly into their spheres of influence any useful areas. This is their first consideration which dwarfs any thoughts of upholding internal conditions or peaceful constitutions.

IT IS THE GREAT POWERS THAT CONDUCT THE GAME OF POWER POLITICS, AND THEY MAKE THE RULES.

Peace, therefore, cannot be imposed on a country in a world in which militarism runs wild, for the Powers can always decide that they want to increase or alter their sphere of influence.

The renunciation of war can only come as an expression of popular demand, and this will be in the face of the policies pursued by Washington and Moscow.

The Tokyo district court's ruling last week concerned a demonstration in July, 1957, at the US Air Force base at Tachi Kawa, near Tokyo, in which thousands of Japanese protested against preparations for extending the runway for super-bombers.

IT IS TO THIS SPIRIT OF PROTEST, AND NOT TO IMPOSED CONSTITUTIONS, THAT WE MUST LOOK FOR DELIVERANCE FROM WORLD WAR III.

Tibet's tragedy . . .

THE parallel between Tibet in 1959 and Hungary in 1956 is obvious. The Hungarians are nearer to us both geographically and in outlook, however, and our sympathy in their case was therefore more readily aroused.

The enforcement of an alien tyranny upon the Tibetan people is nevertheless a more dreadful political crime and constitutes a much deeper tragedy than that which Hungary hat to suffer. For one thing the bloodshed and personal oppression is greater. Denis Bloodworth, in the Observer, speaks of reports of 2,000 killed in Llasa alone. Chinese accounts speak of 4,000 prisoners and there are reports that 13,000 Lamaist monks are under arrest.

Apart from these achievements of what is called the Chinese People's Liberation Army, however, the political suppression that will follow will inevitably bear much more severely upon the people of Tibet than the events since 1956 have upon the people of Hungary.

The people of Hungary clearly do not like the regime of totaliatrian Communism under which they are compelled to live, but they had become to some extent assimilitated to it. The Tibetan people had their own very distinct way of life, which although it may seem strange to us and founded on some curious theocratic superstitions, was nevertherless their own.

It is true that the agreement of May, 1951, forced upon Tibet by a Chinese invasion (what the "Powers" with some irony designate the "legal" position) imposes Chinese suzerainty, but apart from the fact that the Tibetan Government had to accept a Chinese Communist army and the Chinese control of its foreign relationships, it was left with effective autonomy in regard to its internal affairs.

The views of the Tibetans as to how they like to live are now to be set aside by the imposition of Chinese views as to how they should live, just as the views of the people of Nyasaland are set aside in favour of the views of Sir Roy Welensky's Government backed by the British Government.

. . . imperialism

WHAT the Chinese Government is doing is, of course, crude imperialism. There is not, however, the same contradiction in the behaviour of the Chinese people who perpetrate these things as there is in the behaviour of a constitutional democracy that connives at the infliction of totalitarian suppression upon the peoples of Central and East Africa.

After all, the soldiers from Sinkiang and Tsinghai are drawn from peoples who have no more rights over their own way of life than it is proposed that the Tibetans shall have over theirs. It is rather different when soldiers from Cumberland and Northumberland are used for the suppression of aspirations towards democratic self-government in East Africa.

We can feel relief that the Dalai Lama has reached India, and we may now hope that the Indian Government will boldly declare itself in favour of Tibetan self-government. The Indian Government has, however, its own embarrassing problems of this nature. These do not derive from the fact that it is pacifist.

Perhaps the most fatuous comment here has been made by cartoonist Low, whose penetration and fire seems to be sadly declining nowadays, when he shows Nehru with a little gun behind him helplessly contemplating the plight of Tibet over the caption "The Dilemma of the Pacifist."

Low should know by now that the pacifist does not have a little gun, but he should also be able to perceive that in the nuclear age the dilemma is not only that of India but of all other militarist Powers. The Indian Government is no more disabled from helping Tibetan freedom than the West was from helping Hungarian freedom. For that matter, so far as military action is concerned, Nehru's incapacity to help Tibet is no greater than that of Britain or the US.

NATO . . .

THE tenth birthday of NATO last week was a depressing reminder of the logic of the political and military history of the last 20 years. In 1939, Britain engaged in what was claimed to be an "anti-fascist" war. However true the claim was in 1939, it was clear by about 1943 that another conflict was developing—Russia versus Britain and America. The establishment of NATO in 1949 was an overt military recognition of this new "war."

NATO has become by now a symbol of the complete bankruptcy of Western policy; of the belief that basic human rights could be safeguarded by the threat to massacre millions of people; that it was more important to spend money on weapons which would back up this threat than it was to spend money in the under-developed areas where it was so desperately needed; that "peace" could only be preserved by freezing the structure of the world we live in.

In the congratulatory editorials that many of the newspapers have written it has been suggested that if it had not been for the existence of NATO we might have had a few more Czechoslovakias. Given the political set-up of the years immediately after the war this might well be true. But it is equally true that if we had not had NATO we might not have had Poznan, East Berlin and the Hungarian tragedies. If you accept military necessity, it is surely reasonable to want to hang on to your "allies", by force if necessary, particularly when you are surrounded by a hostile alliance of Powers.

Ten years is not a very long life for an organisation, but it is surely time that NATO was pensioned off?

. . . or realism?

IT was an accident that the Aldermaston march and the tenth birthday of NATO occurred within a few days of each other. But this is not to say that there is no connection between the two. The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament has now established itself, in terms of the support it has, as a force to be reckoned with. But to be a real threat it has to develop a coherent alternative policy to the present policy that is accepted by both the Parties, a policy that is based on the great deterrent, NATO, SEATO, and various other military alliances.

The answers to the need for an alternative policy that the Campaign has so far given have been incredibly varied; some people want to give up the Bomb and remain inside NATO; Some want to give up the Bomb and develop "conventional" arms; some want to develop something like a "Third Force" of non-nuclear powers.

We have never disguised our belief that once you give up nuclear weapons, the logical next steps are to get out of all military alliances and to get rid of all arms. We believe that the immediate task for pacifists inside the Campaign is to make non-pacifists realise that such a thorough-going pacifist policy is now the only realistic alternative to the present policy of the British Government.

Kenya trial

INSPECTIVE

AS was only to have been expected, Rawson Macharia was last Saturday found guilty in Kenya of swearing a false affidavit about the trial of the Kenya African leader, Jomo Kenyatta. He was sentenced at Nairobi to 21 months' imprisonment for swearing that the evidence which he gave at the Kenyatta trial in 1952-53 was false and given by arrangement with the Kenya Government. In 1953 Jomo Kenyatta was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment for managing the Mau Mau organisation.

Presented with Macharia's affidavit last year, the Kenya Government had a choice of two actions. It could have charged Macharia with swearing a false affidavit (as it did); or it could have charged him with perjury at the Kenyatta trial. The latter course would have made some form of investigation into the original Kenyatta trial inevitable.

It would otherwise have been a reasonable course to take, because in that trial Macharia was a key witness for the Crown (whose evidence was preferred to that of many witnesses for the defence), and there have been very serious doubts cast upon the conduct of the trial and on Mr. Kenyatta's complicity with Mau Mau.

But the Kenya Government is determined that the case of Jomo Kenyatta shall never be reopened, and the reasons for this are obvious. Any such investigation might reveal (as many suspect) that the trial six years ago was a travesty of justice.

The Government, moreover, is resolved to keep Jomo Kenyatta in jail, and any enquiry might open the way to his release. Mr. Kenyatta is the most "dangerous" man that the Kenya Government has to reckon with, because even today, after six years in prison, he is everywhere acknowledged by Kenya Africans as their leader. And it is not the policy of the Government to encourage even the stating of African aspirations.

Messrs. Kenyatta and Macharia are both now safely out of the way of the Government, but the trials have left many with doubts as to what has been done to African politics in the name of suppressing Mau Mau.

It is not so long until Jomo Kenyatta is due to be released from jail, and then these questions will doubtless be raised again. The Government is fighting a rearguard action, and will probably find that it would have been wiser last year to have met the demand for an "impartial, judicial and public enquiry" which was supported by the majority of the British Press.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Votes and the Bomb

SINCE its first issue, I have read your International Pacifist Weekly because I am an international pacifist, opposed to all war and all arms; my beliefs are based on a belief in the value of every human person, and I have thus also been opposed to oppression and exploitation of men by men anywhere.

For many years when I thought you might have given more time and space to preaching pacifist doctrine, you instead gave a lot of encouragement to backward peoples and aroused a great deal of well-merited support for those who would seek to relieve the oppression of the coloured people. Your paper made it obvious that my duty was to support at elections those who would themselves support policies of equality and freedom for the suppressed races.

But in your more recent activities you have concentrated on the opposition to one weapon of war rather than to war as a whole, and while I have thought you were wrong I have respected your honesty. Now you are helping to divide even those who believe in activity on this limited field, because some of them do not agree with your approach to the problem. The letters and editorial comments in your present issue suggest, furthermore, that you are not content to accept the explanations of honest men; that is a pity. But if I am to follow you, I must not now vote for anyone who will help to free the oppressed people unless he will first promise not to vote for nuclear weapons. If he is content with tanks, guns, submarines, jet-bombers, supersonic fighters and even those rockets you tried to stop them launching, I suppose I may still vote for him and feel that I have in my action the support of your International Pacifist Weekly? And I might at least get some support for those oppressed people.

Fenner Brockway has been offering such support for many years. Now you have what I regret I must call the effrontery to admit that he was *technically* right in his recent vote against the Government arms programme. May I ask what your line would have been if he had abstained from voting against the Government arms policy?

Meantime, while you divert to inner controversies the energies you and your controversialists could well spare for other things, Wilfred Wellock comes along and says some of the things to which that wasted energy could be applied.

And you continue to be called an International Pacifist Weekly. Could you say which International Pacifist body follows the line of policy now adopted by Peace News?—**FRANK DAWTRY, Flat 1, Second House, Limes Road, Weybridge.**

See "Pacifists, Politics and the Bomb," page six.

I HAVE come back from abroad to find that your reply to my charges (PN, March 13) is hardly more creditable than the original offence.

Your excuses, when you can think of any, are familiar ones. One misrepresentation, for example, is excused as just "a bit of loose phrasing." The earlier insinuation that Labour Party members on the Campaign Executive are really fifth columnists from Transport House is not withdrawn but excused on the ground that you really only meant those two (out of nine) who happen also to be candidates. No doubt another convenient "bit of loose phrasing."

You pretend to believe that these two, Michael Foot and Frank Beswick, and presumably all other Labour Party candidates who favour nuclear disarmament will be intimidated by "the discipline imposed by the Party" and will be deterred from expressing their sentiments on this issue at the General Election or carrying their propaganda into the House of Commons. I find it hard to credit that you believe anything of the kind, i.e., that you really believe it is of no relevance how many MPs favouring nuclear disarmament are returned to the House of Commons.

Then you excuse yourself for ducking the arguments in my original letter on the plea of space—although you have devoted two columns to dealing with what I did not say which might have been more profitably used in facing up to what I said. This technique you repeat once more, setting out what "Mr. Levy seems" to say, which is, of course, much easier to answer than what he said.

Finally, you were not above censoring my letter before printing it. I began by complaining of your distortions as Mr. Sydney Silverman had had to do the previous week—and as Mr. Fenner Brockway, I see, has had to do more recently. May I appeal to you that, on such an important issue as this, controversy should be a little more honestly conducted?—**BENN LEVY, 66 Church St., London, S.W.3.**

MR. BENN LEVY was, no doubt, sincere when he denied that the Campaign was to be "put . . . into cold storage until after the election," but, in fact, there has already been an example of this during the Swaffham by-election.

Mr. Michael Foot gave his support, on the whole, to the Swaffham demonstrations, but when he came to address a meeting in the constituency during the election campagn he made no reference to nuclear disarmament. Moreover, when, at the end of a forty-five minute speech, he was asked to explain why, as editor of the paper that "leads the anti-H-bomb campaign," he had said not one word about the H-Bomb in a rocket-base constituency, he mad no reply, and he did not even intervene when the Chairman said, a little naïvely, "We're not talking about H-bombs to-night."

Mr. Foot was, of course, speaking for a Labour candidate who has stated that Britain must keep the H-bomb. His difficulty was understandable, but it is a difficulty in which many members of the National Executive are going to find themselves if they continue to support candidates who are committed to H-bomb policies. And when the difficulty *does* arise, as Mr. Foot's silence shows, the Campaign will, in spite of Mr. Levy's good intentions, be "put into cold storage."—**ALBERT HUNT, 18 Coronation Grove, Swaffham, Norfolk.**

THE campaign for a Voters' Veto cannot have the unequivocal nature of the direct action at Aldermaston or Swaffham. The actions at Aldermaston and Swaffham were concerned solely with the objects of the protest and the propaganda, and *with no other objects.* But a Parliamentary election is concerned with other vital issues besides nuclear warfare. Therefore many pacifists—and I am one—do not choose to forego their right to choose candidates on the basis of general moral issues, by singling out one issue alone.

I am quite clear for myself that I would not buy a government pledged to nuclear disarmament at the price of being pledged to, say, the colour bar, colonial repression, and an increase of flogging. The merit of Aldermaston and Swaffham is that this kind of choice between conscience and conscience is avoided. The disadvantage of a campaign for a Voters' Veto is that it often clashes with other conscientious responsibilities.—**MICHAEL TIPPETT, Tidebrook Manor, Wadhurst, Sussex.**

YOUR report (March 27) that seven prospective Parliamentary candidates have informed the Direct Action Committee that they would be prepared to defy their parties in order to vote against nuclear weapons may be technically correct.

But it should be reported that at least fourteen other prospective Parliamentary candidates have pledged themselves to vote against nuclear weapons—they are the 14 candidates of Plaid Cymru, the Welsh Party, and their number will probably be increased to at least 20 by the time the election comes. It is true that they do not have to defy their party in this matter, for Plaid Cymru's annual conferences have been unanimous in their support of unilateral nuclear disarmament, and the party has been instrumental in establishing the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in Wales.—**EMRYS ROBERTS, Plaid Cymru, 8 Queen Street, Cardiff.**

World Peace Council

From Professor J. D. Bernal, F.R.S.

IN Phyz's comment to Letters on March 27 he implies that the World Peace Council has not a sincere attitude to nuclear disarmament.

This seems strange in view of the fact that the Council nine years ago, with the Stockholm Appeal, was the first international body to launch a campaign against the atom bomb, and has consistently since then demanded the abolition of all nuclear weapons as part of general disarmament, as well as insisting on the unconditional stopping of nuclear tests.

Our policy throughout the crises of the Cold War has been that of urging the settlements of immediate conflicts such as those of Korea and Viet Nam by negotiations. We have repeatedly called for the ending of the Cold War and for negotiations to establish an enduring peace.

Insofar as governments are furthering such policies we support them; insofar as they oppose them we are critical. This, rather than opposition to all governments, we consider to be the more reasonable and effective course of action. But we do not necessarily expect all those who also are sincerely working for peace to take the same view on all such policies. Surely we can all work together in different countries for the same cause without mutual bickering or imputation of bad motives.—**J. D. BERNAL, Vice-President, World Council of Peace, 21 Torrington Sq., London, W.C.1.**

Phyz writes: *Professor Bernal has ignored my statement that "at World Peace Council conferences we hear BPC condemnations of US militarism and imperialism, but not of that of the USSR. At present no representative of the committees of the Soviet bloc nations who attends such conferences criticises his own Government's militarism."*

March from Aldermaston

MAY I, through your columns, express my very sincere thanks to all those marshals, dispatch riders, banner bearers and others who gave such unstinting service during the four days March from Aldermaston to Trafalgar Spuare. I know that many of them went without rest and meals during the various breaks in order to assist their fellow marchers, and that they were often on the job long after the March dispersed for the night. Those who carried heavy banners had a particularly tough task, especially during rainy periods, and to them and to all marchers I send my thanks for their co-operation and support.

There will very shortly be a meeting of all those who were concerned with the marshalling organisation, and at this we will discuss the problems which arose, the methods by which we can overcome them in any future activity, proposals for the future, and the purpose underlying this kind of project. If those who would like to attend such a meeting—to be held in London—would care to write to me I will make sure that they receive notice of the time and place. In the meantime I would be very interested to receive any comments, criticisms, or reports of incidents which were of interest to individual marchers, with photographs if available.—**MICHAEL L. HOWARD, 11 Warwick Road, Earls Court, London, S.W.5.**

Radio Wales

GOOD luck to Radio Wales! (*the recent pirate radio*)

The British Broadcasting Corporation's condescending air and damning dexterity towards democratic voices of dissent is an awful hindrance to the development of a lively democracy, and it is incumbent upon listeners to challenge this travesty.

Many programmes purporting to provide serious political discussion are "treated" and turn into little better than light entertainment. This tendency to entertain all the listeners all of the time does not encourage the pursuit of democracy beyond the limits of a modernised bread and circus version fit only for morons.

The BBC despite all its democratic pretensions and some excellent programmes remains subservient to the divine will of the Establishment by leaving scant time for the art of advancing more radical views.

This child of our outmoded Establishment deserves some sharp lessons from Radio Agnostics, Radio Republicans and Radio Radicals—not to mention Radio Direct Action.—**OWEN DAVID EVANS, 12 Elmwood Road, London, S.E.24.**

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Did you know that the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament which organised the **Aldermaston** march has 130 Groups in the Greater London Area?

Help locally by writing to one of these Area Secretaries for your Local Group address

London Regional Council CND name college*

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South-East	Gwen Crabbe 36 Stradella Rd, SE24
South-West	Pat Goldacre 120 Balham Park Rd SW12
Students*	Michael Craft 77D Southwark Br Rd, SE1

Pacifists, politics and the Bomb

PEACE NEWS REPLIES TO FRANK DAWTRY

ON page five we publish a letter from Frank Dawtry, for whom we have a great regard. We have good reason to be grateful to him for the help he gives to Peace News.

We were well aware when we began to urge that the time had come for pacifists to reconsider their relationship to a political Party that was following militarist policies that the discussion would inevitably produce some bitterness of feeling, but we must admit to feeling some unhappiness at the tone and temper of Frank Dawtry's letter.

Nevertheless, we are not sorry to have it for publication. There is a need to discuss the points it raises; we could not find a better reason for dealing with them than this contribution from one we hold in high esteem.

The first point that needs to be appreciated is that our attitude in this matter is not at bottom something that depends on the attitude of pacifists to the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. If that Campaign had never been organised it would not alter the fact that the development of nuclear weapons has tremendously changed the destructive character of warfare. The pacifist is not only opposed to nuclear weapons. He is opposed to all weapons. But the totality of weapons includes—and does not exclude, as sometimes seems to be suggested—nuclear weapons.

CHANGE

Whatever may be our views as to the best approach to pacifist propaganda today there can be no doubt that the production of the H-bomb has changed the relative importance we ought to attach to armaments preparation as compared with other political issues.

We believe, quite simply, that the way in which the question of preparation for war is to be approached, in the light of its present character, provides what is overwhelmingly the most important issue in front of us. We believe that it provides the most important political issue that has been presented in the history of mankind.

Now, if this be true, it clearly has vital consequences for our attitude to political parties. The most important of these, it seems to us, concerns the relationship of pacifists to the Labour Party. Very many of us in the past have consistently voted Labour. The Labour Party has never been a pacifist party it is true, but it was not in the past so firmly committed to militarist assumptions as it is today.

Those pacifists who took the view that they should support the Labour Party were able to regard their pacifism and their desire for a renunciation of military preparation as just one issue among a number of issues of relatively equal importance. War was an evil, but it was one among a number of evils. There were the evils of poverty, of unemployment, imperialism, of inadequate provision for education etc., and there was also a variety of positive aspirations that we could share with those who worked in the Labour Party.

TOLERANCE

In these circumstances we could regard disagreement on military preparations as something to be regretted, but nevertheless just one point of disagreement to set against a number of matters upon which there was agreement and upon which we desired to co-operate.

The conditions upon which pacifists could be tolerated in the Labour Party were such as could be reasonably accepted. On this single issue—the issue of war preparation—it was recognised that the views of the pacifist were in opposition to the policy of his Party. He was permitted not to support the Party on this issue so long as he did not carry his opposition into the division lobby but contented himself with abstention: an attitude that did not in action fundamentally challenge the Party's policy. This degree of tolerance on a matter on which he was in disagreement enabled him to co-operate on the more numerous matters on which he was in agreement.

It is our view that the issue of war preparation has become in the circumstances of today of such overwhelming importance that this degree of tolerance is not one that the pacifist can reasonably be expected to accept. The pacifist view is that on the question that is of most urgent and vital importance to humanity, the Labour Party is pursuing a policy that can only lead to disastrous consequences.

The one hope for humanity is that a pacifist approach shall be adopted. Most of the other issues—important as they would be in a world not headed for destruction—sink into triviality beside this one, and we do not believe that there is today any sound case for pacifist acquiescence in covering up this basic disagreement. Every possible step should be taken to make it a major public issue.

VOTES

The question of the H-bomb as a separate issue only figures in considering what should be the pacifist attitude because the matter was first practically raised by one who was not a pacifist. It would, of course, have been more satisfactory from a pacifist standpoint if one of the pacifist MPs had crystallised the issue; but this did not happen.

Instead, Sir Richard Acland, not a pacifist, took this stand because he did not consider that the right to abstain was sufficient when he was faced with the question of the manufacture of the H-bomb. Although we must frankly say that we felt, and feel today, that Sir Richard stops short of facing the realities of the present situation, we nevertheless thought that his action was one that presented the most important issue facing the people today in a manner that made it impossible to continue to ignore it. We still feel this is true.

When it is objected, as Frank Dawtry does, that this is concentrating "on the opposition to one weapon of war rather than to war as a whole," this does not alter the fact that, with the development of nuclear weapons the threat of war has taken on a character that makes it no longer possible to regard it as merely one of a considerable list of comparable evils.

For a pacifist, preparation for war has become overwhelmingly the greatest and most urgent evil to be dealt with. And for those who hold that to vote against one weapon is not enough, there is a clear alternative: to vote against all weapons. The man who votes for any of the three main parties today is unable to register his objection to *any* of the weapons.

When Frank Dawtry asks us what effects withholding votes from all militarist candidates will have upon colonial policy we frankly admit that he is attacking us at our most tender if not our most vulnerable point. Although we would not put too much emphasis on this, we think it is easy to exaggerate the difference between the Parties on questions of colonial freedom.

We readily recognise that the most valuable propaganda for the independence and advancement of the colonial peoples is done within the framework of the Labour Party, but this propaganda has its effect whichever party is in office. On the one hand, for instance, it has been under a Conservative Government that Ghana and Northern Nigeria have reached freedom, while on the other hand it is impossible to shut one's eyes to the fact that the gospel on colonialism comes much more tellingly from Labour spokesmen when Labour is in opposition than when it is in office.

Nevertheless, we do not seek to deny that there is a difference in this field between Labour and Conservatives, and it is with regret that we hold that even the advantage here is something that ought to be sacrificed, if necessary, to the need to bring the stupendously important question of today's armaments to the forefront.

AMENDMENT

We are sorry that Frank Dawtry has felt impelled to use the word "effrontery" to characterise our comment that Fenner Brockway was technically right in his statement about the recent Labour Party vote on the Government arms programme. We do not for a moment question Fenner Brockway's sincerity in this matter or his statement as to what was in his mind when he cast his vote. In fact, there is nobody in the House for whom we have a higher regard. This issue is, however, in literal fact a technical one. It turns on the method of voting in Parliament which lends itself to misleading combinations and to the obscuring of the issues involved in the vote.

The Government motion in the case under discussion had to be rejected before the Labour amendment could be voted upon. The Labour amendment did not criticise the Government on pacifist but on militarist grounds. We think it worth while to reprint this amendment. It is as follows:

"This House regrets the continued failure of Her Majesty's Government to produce a coherent and effective defence policy and deplores the fact that despite a total defence expenditure of more than £11,000,000,000 since 1951 there continue to be grave inadequacies in the armament and equipment of Her Majesty's forces."

PENALTIES

The procedure that is adopted is such that a pacifist or a man like Fenner Brockway can go into the lobby with people like George Brown and Emanuel Shinwell whose acceptance of militarist principles is indistinguishable from the Tories! Had the Government been defeated in the vote, however, it would not have been a pacifist—or even a nuclear disarmament—amendment that would have been brought forward but the above militarist amendment put down on behalf of Labour.

The restrictions that are imposed by the Labour Party on its members in the House make it impossible for them to bring forward a pacifist—or an anti-H-bomb—amendment. It was just this that Frank Allaun had proposed to do, only to have made clear to him the penalties he would suffer if he persisted.

Surely Frank Dawtry is aware that this is the position! We know that there are many who, like him, are unhappy about the line that we on Peace News feel we must uphold in this matter. Doubtless there is a case to be made against us, and we hope it will be stated. We shall give facility for this. We do appeal to those who disagree with us, however, to develop their case in a spirit of candour and not try to arouse prejudice by covering up essential facts.

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—Ignazio Silone

Peacemaking in depth

By GEOFFREY GOODWIN

HOWEVER ardently we would-be peace-builders support Aldermaston Marches, civil disobedience, vigils and protests, we must admit that war and H-bombs are but the end of a long chain of cause and effect. Working on the surface *is* necessary, but not enough. We need also to get down to roots, to causes.

If strife did not exist between individuals it could hardly exist between groups or masses. A peaceful, evolved society cannot be made up of immature, peaceless persons. What is required for human motives and actions to reach maturity? What conditions must be satisfied that we may be whole?

This, briefly, is why *wholeness* is the theme of the Annual Conference of the Fellowship of Friends of Truth, to be held at Bewdley, Worcs., the week-end of April 17-19.

Quakers and Gandhi

The speaker to face the many pregnant questions arising from our sick society will be Dr. Douglas Latto. Highly qualified medically, a leading exponent of nutrition, and with deep religious concerns, Dr. Latto is well fitted to deal with the inter-action of chemical, physical and spiritual laws, and with a person's possibilities of wholeness in such contexts as commercialisation, industrialisation and specialisation.

The Fellowship of Friends of Truth originated from the association of (mainly) Quakers and Mahatma Gandhi and his followers, in 1947 in India, and in 1956 in Britain, with the purposes of inter-religious fellowship based on the Quaker-style silent meeting and the non-violent struggle for world peace and social justice. It is keenly interested in the work of Vinoba Bhave and the movement for *Sarvodaya* ("The Welfare of All") in India.

Full details of the Bewdley Conference and of the FFT itself may be obtained from the Secretary, Vivian Worthington, Garthnewydd Community House, Brecon Road, Merthyr Tydfil, Glamorgan.

EASTER FAIR

INTERNATIONAL GIFTS

Toys, Childrens Wear, Food, Dresses, Coats, Shoes

April 10th 7 p.m. - 10 p.m.
April 11th 10 a.m. - 5 p.m.

MAHATMA GANDHI HALL

Fitzroy Square

Warren St. & Euston Sq. Stations

BRITISH PEACE COMMITTEE

DIARY

1. Send notices to arrive first post Mon.

2. Include Date, **TOWN, Time, Place** (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)

Friday, April 10

LONDON, S.W.1: 7.30 p.m. Caxton Hall. Lecture "Hinduism, Old and New" by Swami Avyaktananda. Vedanta Movement.

LONDON, W.8: 10.30 a.m. and 1.15 p.m. Town Hall, High St., Kensington. CO Tribunal.

Friday—Saturday, April 10/11

DORKING: 1-8.30 p.m. The Gallery North, Exhibition "The Facts of Life in the Nuclear Age." CND.

Saturday, April 11

ST. NEOTS: 3.30 p.m. Methodist Church, MPF Covenant Service: 5 p.m. Tea; 5.45 Group Discussion; 7 p.m. Public Meeting "Nuclear Defence"; Fred Moorhouse, Rev. T. E. Bailey. MPF.

BRIGHTON: 3 p.m. from The Level, Nuclear Disarmament Week poster parade. CND.

Sunday, April 12

LONDON, W.C.1: 3.30 p.m. Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq., Euston, Pacifist Universalist Service. Arlo Tatum "On Being a Missionary." PPU Religion Commission.

Monday, April 13

BIRMINGHAM: 8 p.m. 221 Vicarage Rd., Kings Heath. Everyone urged attend AGM of Kings Heath and Cotteridge PPU.

LONDON, S.W.1: 10.30 a.m. and 2.15 p.m. Ebury Bridge Ho., Ebury Bridge Rd. CO Appeal Tribunal.

Tuesday, April 14

FULHAM: 7.30 p.m. Town Hall (opp. Fulham Broadway Station) Public Meeting "Central Africa," John Stonehouse, Michael Stewart, John Millwood. Co-op Party.

LONDON, E.8: 8 p.m. Mayor's Parlour, Town Hall, Mare St., Brains Trust, "Does Radio-activity Matter?" Dr. Barber, Dr. Burhop, Rev. S. Evans, Ald. B. Cohen. Hackney CND.

MANCHESTER: 7.45 p.m. Friends Meeting House, 34 Half Edge Lane, Eccles. Group Meeting. Manchester Cen. PPU.

SOUTHAMPTON: 7.30 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Ordnance Rd., Report CND Nat. Conf. and discussion "Aldermaston March." PPU/CND.

WOLVERHAMPTON: 7.30 p.m. Central Library, Public Forum "Way to Peace," Mrs. D. Grayson, Eric Thorne, Rev. G. Waddington, Dr. G. W. Hutchinson: W'hampton Peace Council.

Wednesday, April 15

ALTON: 7.30 p.m. Small Assembly Room, High Street; Brains Trust "Race Relations": Eileen Fletcher, Rev. G. A. Potter, Muriel Thomas, Mr. Baker, Rev. G. E. Knapp. PPU/Free Church Council/Ruridecanal Conference.

BIRMINGHAM: 7.45 p.m. 65 Kineton Green Rd., Olton, group meeting. Sheldon. PPU.

ILFORD: 8 p.m. Town Hall. Debate "Nuclear Disarmament," Young Conservative v. Young CND. S.W. Essex Youth CND.

KENDAL: 7.30 p.m. Bindloss Room, Town Hall. Rev. Tom Wardle in the Chair. Speakers from CND.

MANSFIELD: 7.15 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Quaker Lane. Max Parker "A Christian in Russia." FoR.

Thursday, April 16

BRIGHTON: 8 p.m. Royal Pavilion. Medical Brains Trust. Drs. N. Malleson D. Kerr, H. Gordon and D. G. Arnott. CND.

BRISTOL 7: 7.30 p.m. Horfield Friends Mtg. Ho., 300 Gloucester Rd., Bishopston. John Mutseriwa (Deputy Head Master of the School at St. Faith's Mission and Inter-Racial Farm, S. Rhodesia). Fellowship of Friends of Truth.

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Mrs. Richardson "Yugoslavia." PPU.

LONDON, N.13: 8 p.m. 33 Devonshire Rd., Palmers Green. Allen Skinner "Social Implications of Pacifism." PPU

LONDON, N.W.1: 7.15 p.m. Friends House, Euston Road, "The Cross and the Bomb—Where Stands the Christian?"; Canon Edward Carpenter, Rev. Clifford Macquire, Sidney B. Osborn, Eric Tucker, Rev. Mark Shirley. London Union FoR.

Friday, April 17

BEWDLEY, WORCS: Manor Ho. Annual Conf. Chief Speaker Dr. Douglas Latto. Apply Vivian Worthington, Garthnewydd Community Ho., Brecon Rd., Merthyr Tydfil, Glam. Fellowship of Friends of Truth.

BRISTOL: 7 p.m. Carwardine's Cafe, Baldwin St., Discussion and Social Evening with Peace News Directors and Staff. All West Country readers and PPU AGM delegates warmly invited. Refreshments available. Peace News.

BRIGHTON: 3 p.m. Royal Pavilion: Nuclear Exhibition, "The Chance of a Lifetime," Opening Ceremony (open until April 23). CND.

Saturday—Sunday, April 18/20

BRISTOL: 2 p.m. The Bristowe, College Green; Annual General Meeting. All PPU members welcome. Tickets 2s. 6d from Stuart Morris, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1. PPU.

Saturday, April 18

BRIGHTON: 3 p.m. from The Level, Second Nuclear Disarmament Week poster parade. CND.

Monday, April 20

BRIGHTON: 8 p.m. Royal Pavilion. Women's Meeting. Mrs. Antoinette Pirie and Mrs. Anne Clark. CND.

HULL: 7.30 p.m. 6 Bond Street, Discussion, "Could a Pacifist Government Work?" PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 6 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St., "Inquest on the AGM," Central London PPU.

Tuesday, April 21

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA: 8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Dundonald Dr., Leigh-on-Sea. J. Allen Skinner "Current Affairs." PPU.

Wednesday, April 22

BRIGHTON: 8 p.m., Royal Pavilion, Pianoforte Recital by Denis Matthews in aid of Nuclear Disarmament Week. Admission 6s. CND.

Thursday, April 23

BRIGHTON: 8 p.m. The Dome. Anti-H-bomb Rally." Construction—not Destruction." Michael Foot, Rev. Michael Scott, Harold Steele. CND.

LONDON, E.11. 8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Bush Rd., Elsie Pracey, "Background to African Racial Conflict." PPU/FoR.

****

Every week!

SUNDAYS

LONDON: 3 p.m. Hyde Park. Speaker's Corner. Pacifist Forum. PYAG.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: 72 Oakley Sq., N.W.1. Week-end work camps take place whenever possible. Phone EUS 3195. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site Christian Pacifist open-air meeting. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

LONDON, N.4: 7 p.m. Peace News Office, 3 Blackstock Rd. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

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FENNER BROCKWAY, MP WRITES ON CENTRAL AFRICA:

New tyranny challenges us all

WHAT is happening in Central and East Africa challenges us all. It demands our dedication to the cause of African freedom and human equality as never before.

This week I have had a letter from one of the deported leaders of the Zambia Congress in Northern Rhodesia. This is what he writes:

"I am about 105 miles away from the nearest railway and about 500 miles from Broken Hill, where I was arrested at midnight on March 11.

"I was driven here for 13 hours from the early hours of Thursday. I was left in the hands of the District Commissioner. I am being given a subsistence allowance of 5s. a day, which is far too small for me. I have been denied a bed and mattress, and I am provided with prisoners' matting, three feet by five and a half feet, instead. I have been promised as part of my utensils one cup and saucer and a tea spoon, but up to now seen none. Due to my meagre allowance, I am cutting off my breakfast and will try myself on a lunch and dinner only.

"People listening to the radio have told me that our organisation is banned because we were planning violence. At the time of my arrest I was typing a circular from Mr. Kaunda (Chairman of Zambia) laying emphasis on non-violence as our policy. If the police will produce this you will be in a position to know there is no grain of truth in the Governor's statement that we were planning violence."

BRITISH RESPONSIBILITY

We have been inclined to place the major blame for what is happening in Central Africa on the European leaders of the Federation. Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland are British Protectorates and for most of what occurs there the Government at Westminster has responsibility. It has responsibility for suppressing the Zambia Congress and for deporting its leaders. It has responsibility for the Governor's hysterical broadcast in which he compared Zambia leaders with Chicago racketeers and killers and "Murder Incorporated."

The British Government (*not* the British people, as our demonstrations show) also has responsibility for the tyrannical and cruel legislation which is being introduced in Nyasaland. In addition to giving the police wider powers of arrest, entry and search and to imposing heavier penalties, a new Bill would make it an offence to wear the symbol, shout the slogans or make the signs of any "unlawful society," including, of course, the African Congress.

Another Bill extends the definition of the illegal effects of an unlawful assembly or riot. Previously it was necessary to prove in court that a member of the public had been put in fear of a breach of the peace or had been terrorised. In future it will be sufficient to prove that an unlawful assembly was *likely* to frighten a person or that a riot was *likely* to terrorise him.

In other words, penalties can be imposed not because of the actual results of a meeting or riot, but because of an opinion of what the results could have been!

The worst of the new Bills is a disgrace to the British colonial administration.

It proposes to amend the Children and Young Persons' Ordinance so as to make a male child or young person subject to corporal punishment. A child may be given six strokes, a young person twelve strokes.

These new measures, which are not limited to the Emergency but will become part of the normal law of Nyasaland, have been denounced from the Labour benches of the House of Commons.

BLUNDELL AND MBOYA

Significant developments are occurring in East Africa. Mr. Michael Blundell's resignation from the Kenya Government to become leader of a moderate group of members of the Legislature has been accompanied by the formation of a second group led by Mr. Tom Mboya. There is a deep difference in the composition of the two groups.

Mr. Blundell's group, whilst it includes European elected members, consists otherwise, except possibly for an elected Arab member whose position is not clear, entirely of nominated members and members appointed by the votes not of the electorate but of the Legislature itself.

Mr. Mboya's group, on the other hand, is composed of all the elected African, Indian and Moslem Members, one of the two elected Arabs, and one elected European, Mr. Cooke. They have rightly styled themselves the "Constituency Elected Members Organisation."

There is, therefore, no doubt which group represents the people of Kenya. The Mboya group has the support of the African population of six millions, the greater part of the Indian and Moslem populations of 160,000, half at least of the Arab population of 25,000, as well as a minority of Europeans.

The Blundell group represents perhaps half of the European population of 65,000 (the rest are mostly more extreme) and small minorities among the other races. One can broadly say that Mboya voices the views of 6,110,000 people and that Blundell represents 40,000.

SIGNIFICANT PHRASE

Nevertheless, the establishment of the Blundell group is an important sign of the trend of events in Kenya. Its policy is timid and vague, but it at least recognises that "in fulness of time" the great majority of citizens in Kenya will be Africans, which implies that the Europeans must adjust themselves to accepting a minority position in Parliament and the Administration. It would also open the White Highlands (the vast fertile area now reserved to Europeans) to African farmers. As a complement to this, it would open the African reserves to European farmers. (An unresolved problem arises here. The moneyed Europeans would still be able to buy up the best land).

Ten years ago the Blundell group might have been able to harmonise the aims of the Africans and the moderate Europeans in Kenya. Now they will have to go much further to do so. There was one significant phrase in Mr. Blundell's speech of resignation from the Government. He emphasised that his action "implied no disagreement with the policy of the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Government on constitutional or other matters." Then what does it all amount to? A Kenya Party to support the Colonial Office against the die-hard Europeans?

The real issue now is the conflict between the Colonial Office and the non-Europeans in Kenya. A delegation of representatives of the African, Indian, Moslem and Arab groups, and the courageous Mr. Cooke, are now in London to demand democratic constitutional changes. Will Mr. Bundell just say "ditto" to Mr. Lennox-Boyd?

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CLASSIFIED

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, min 2s. 6d. (Box No. 1s. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4

MEETINGS

CENTRAL APFICA. John Stonehouse, MP, Michael Stewart, MP, John Millwood. Fulham Town Hall, 7.30, Tuesday, April 14 (opp. Fulham Broadway Station—buses 11, 14 and 28). Fulham Co-operative Party.

ACCOMMODATION

HOMELY ACCOMMODATION and jolly good food for visitors and permanent guests. CANonbury 1340. Telkea Shayler, 27 Hamilton Pk., London, N.5.

HOLIDAY ACCOMMODATION

FRINTON-ON-SEA. GEM OF East Coast. Peaceful and uncommercialised. Charming house overlooking famous greensward and sea. Entirely vegetarian food reform. August fully booked. Children welcomed. Lilian and Aldo Vezza, Sandy Point, Esplanade. Tel. 691.

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KESWICK—Visit the Lake District for your holiday this year. Highfield Vegetarian Guest House, The Heads, offers beautiful scenery, good food, comfort and friendly atmosphere. Tel. 508 or write Anne Coupe (nee Horner).

NORTH WALES. Vegetarian and vegan guest house near mountains and sea. Beach hut available. Lovely woodland garden. Compost-grown fruit and vegetables. Brochure from Jeannie and George Lake. Plas-y-coed, Penmaen Park, Llanfairfechan. Tel. 161. V.C.A. Member.

PENSCOT GUEST HOUSE, Shipham, Winscombe, Somerset. Excellent centre for Mendips. 3 miles Cheddar, 8 miles sea. Comfortable lounge, restful garden, central heating, open fires. H & C all bedrooms. Now booking for autumn and 1960 holidays and Conferences. A.A. listed. Write for illustrated brochure to Mrs. Lucas, phone Winscombe 2221.

SEA PALLING, NORFOLK. Quiet Village, Broads District. Wonderful sands, best weather in Britain! Good food (vegetarian optional), all mod. conveniences, friendly atmosphere. "Woodbine" Guest House. Hickling 236.

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PERSONAL

IF YOU SHOP at a Co-op please give this number when making your next purchase: L 3 3 6 9 4 3. Your dividend will then be gratefully received by the Secretary, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL. Clause 83 of the International Sanitary Regulations allows objectors to vaccination to enter other countries without vaccination certificates. Further information from National Anti-Vaccination League, 2nd Floor, 26/28 Warwick Way, London, S.W.1.

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL welcomes gifts of foreign stamps and undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, 88 Park Ave., Enfield, Middlesex.

LITERATURE

BRITAIN'S OLDEST SOCIALIST WEEKLY — vigorous, forthright and consistently against war—the "Socialist Leader." Indispensable to members of the PPU who want up-to-date information of home and world politics. Threepence weekly. Obtainable from your newsagent or from 48 Dundas St., Glasgow, C.1, and 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to Friends Home Service Cttee., Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

"SARVODAYA"—monthly magazine of the Bhoodan Movement in India may be obtained from Housmans Bookshop, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4 at 12s. per year, or 1s. (postage 2d.) each issue.

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FOR SALE

BIRTHDAY SUBSCRIPTIONS: Solve the present problem by giving your friends a subscription to PEACE NEWS. Eight weeks' introductory postal subscription 2s. 6d. Birthday card 6d. extra. Subscription Dept., Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

SPECIAL OFFER, BANK TYPING paper (white quarto) 1 ream 7s. 6d., 6 reams for 37s. 6d., post free. Special price for larger quantities. Order all your stationery from Housmans (Peace News Ltd.), 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

SITUATIONS VACANT

URGENT—MAN WANTED, able to undertake general maintenance. Pacifist home for broken families to be quickly re-decorated for spring re-opening of premises. Usual salary. Secretary, Family Re-union Centre, 36 Dale Rd., Purley, Surrey.

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Criminal negligence over H-bomb tests

"ALL THE NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE HAVE BEEN AUTHORISED WITH A COMPLETE AND UTTER DISREGARD FOR THE CONSEQUENCES THAT AMOUNTS TO CRIMINAL NEGLIGENCE."

This view was expressed in a lead letter to the Conservative Daily Telegraph, written by a North of England practising hospital pathologist, Anthony F. Ollerenshaw, and published on April 3.

Declaring that he had read with misgiving but without surprise reports of disagreements between the "experts" as to the amount of Strontium 90 fall-out which will find its way into the bones of our children, he wrote:

The situation to which we are now irrevocably exposed is unprecedented in human history, and there can, of course, be no "experts"; and the intelligent guesswork that masquerades as expert forecasting is no doubt influenced in many cases (I will say subconsciously influenced) by the fact that many successful careers now depend on the continued manufacture and explosion of nuclear weapons of varying types.

This ostrich-like policy of "another little bomb won't do us any harm" is the basis of the advice which is presumably given to those individuals who have risen to positions of supreme power by virtue of their possession of exceptional drive and a firm belief in the virtues of nationalism. Whatever the merits of these persons, they do not include a detailed knowledge of nuclear physics and radiation medicine; and while it is clear from a perusal of the history books that such persons never hesitate to plunge nations into war rather than to lose prestige, I feel that they would probably hesitate to initiate a course of action that involved the risk of crippling or even annihilating the human species.

The threshold

Your Science Correspondent writes: "It has not yet been decided whether there is a threshold for Strontium 90." That is the sober truth, and the implication is obvious: that all the nuclear explosions that have taken place have been authorised with a complete and utter disregard for the consequences that amounts to criminal negligence. Medical evidence suggests strongly that there is no threshold level below which the body tolerates radiation without harm. Any absorption of Strontium 90 is potentially harmful, and the greater the amount absorbed the greater the potential harm.

As a practising hospital pathologist I see many cases of leukæmia, and the numbers are increasing. Treatment at best is palliative, and merely prolongs the ultimate issue. Infants and young children, whose bones are growing rapidly, are absorbing steadily increasing quantities of Strontium into their skeletons.

No self-styled expert can predict what may be the outcome.

My own humble opinion is that coming generations will be affected by leukæmia on a scale that staggers the imagination.

This is only an opinion, but in the absence of exact knowledge it is, I feel, a reasonable one. There is in general a complacent attitude on the part of the public, due to the completely unjustifiable optimism in the statements made from time to time by "experts."

The Bomb's challenge to the Church

Peace News Reporter

THE principal physicist at London's University College Hospital, Sidney B. Osborn, will be among the speakers at a big public meeting in Friends House, Euston Road, on Thursday next at 7.15 p.m., organised by the London Union of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

On the platform with him will be:

The Rev. Edward Carpenter, Canon of Westminster;

The Rev. Clifford Macquire, outspoken Glasgow Congregationalist and former General Secretary of the Fellowship;

Eric Tucker, Secretary of the Friends Peace Committee which organised the Quaker contingent on the Aldermaston March.

The chair will be taken by the **Rev. Mark F. J. Shirley**, of St. Mark's Church, Lewisham.

"Twelve months ago," Leslie Tarlton, Secretary of the FoR's London Union, told Peace News on Tuesday, "the FoR launched a Christian Peacemaking Campaign to challenge the Church and the world afresh, in this age of nuclear weapons, with the contradiction the method of war makes to God's way of reconciling love revealed in Christ. In the present stage of the Campaign meetings are being arranged throughout the country, hence the Central London meeting under the title The Cross and the Bomb? Where stands the Christian?

"It will be the occasion of Christian pacifist witness, and the forthright presentation of the message the Fellowship has to proclaim," he added.

They want £6,720 for peace campaign

BRITISH war resisters will be meeting in Bristol at the end of next week for the Twenty-second Annual General Meeting of the Peace Pledge Union.

They will be asked to support a budgetted expenditure of £6,720 in the coming year. In addition to their own campaigning activities the PPU helps to finance the War Resisters' International (£100 p.a.), the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors (£35), the National Peace Council (£10), the Movement for Colonial Freedom (£10) and a number of other bodies.

(See Diary for meeting details.)

AFTER ALDERMASTON

Margaret White writes that the luggage handed to her by a group of Aldermaston marchers at Chiswick was handed in at the Crypt of St. Martin-in-the-Fields. She has paid in the money for the Peace News which she offered to sell.

CND STOP PRESS

AS we go to press details have come in of simultaneous CND public meetings this evening (Friday) at Bury and Bolton, with Frank Allaun, MP, speaking at both; scientist Antoinette Pirie and Col. Geoffrey Taylor at Hereford Town Hall, 7.30 p.m. on Thursday next (April 16), and Mervyn Jones at Kingsley Hall, Parsloes Ave., Dagenham, the same evening.

Islington CND have a Film Show on Tuesday (April 14)

Mboya rejects Blundell's statement

A FORTHRIGHT assertion of African rights in Kenya was made in London on Tuesday by Mr. Tom Mboya, Member of the Legislative Council of Kenya.

Referring to Mr. Michael Blundell's much-publicised policy statement which was published on April 2, he said: "Attempts have been made to present it as a liberal document pointing the way to a new political development for the country."

Since Mr. Blundell's statement was signed only by a group of European Elected Members, Specially Elected Members and Government nominated Members, it was "premature, if not deliberately misleading, to try to present the statement as reflecting a multi-racial policy under the leadership of Mr. Blundell."

No African, Indian or Moslem Elected Member, Mr. Mboya pointed out, had been asked to sign the statement, which "does not even concede that eventually democracy based on 'one man one vote' is inevitable."

The statement "merely holds out the hope that some day in the distant future some changes may take place."

It was fundamentals that had to be tackled in Kenya. "We believe," said Mr. Mboya, "that the Kenya Government has no excuse to continue the state of emergency in Kenya." It was the Governor and the civil servants who needed rehabilitating, not the Africans.

Referring to the Central African crisis and the role of the Accra Conference, Tom Mboya said that the Conference "adopted Non-violent Positive Action as the policy for the African Nationalist movements.

But he added this warning: "The situation also depends on the colonial Power. . . . If you hit the African, he might decide to hit you back."

By Sybil Morrison

"PEACE WITH HONOUR"

The course of appeasement is not only dishonourable, it is the most dangerous one we could pursue. The world paid a high price for the lesson of Munich, but it learned it well. —President Eisenhower, April 5, 1959.

TO appease means to pacify or soothe, and it might be naturally understood that the person who needed to be soothed or pacified was justifiably annoyed or angry; indeed, appeasement might well take the form of a much needed apology or at least an admittance of some mistake or wrong. Until the Munich agreement of 1938 there was no reason to link the word with a dishonourable action, but, on the contrary, a good one.

It is unfortunate that its meaning has become distorted by events, but it is even more unfortunate that the dishonourable agreement made at Munich, when it was far too late to save Britain and Germany from the military dilemma of their own making, should be so continually quoted as a warning against the perfectly legitimate and honourable act of appeasement.

There would have been no Hitler to "appease" with dishonourable bargains at Munich if some idea of the real meaning of the word had been understood and acted upon in relation to Germany directly following upon the first world war.

Pacifists are constantly being asked what they would have done to save the peace in 1938, when it is quite clear that the militaristic policy pursued during the foregoing 20 years had borne its inevitable fruits. It was not pacifism that was responsible for Hitler; he was the consequence of war and its aftermath.

President Eisenhower speaks in mere clichés when he asserts that a lesson was learned at Munich; no lesson was learned by that nefarious bargain other than the obvious one, that it is too late to make peace when a race in armaments has precipitated war.

The real lesson of the between world war years has, unfortunately, not been learned by politicians and statesmen; if it had they would not have continued to believe that so-called negotiations can be successful if backed up by armaments, and subject to the threat inherent in them.

The perilous situation today is almost entirely the consequence of the policies pursued during the last fort years. The blockade of Germany months after the first world war was over; the determination to lay the whole blame of that wholesale massacre of a generation upon Germany; the refusal to give any help to a Republican Germany, or to make any concession in regard to the promised disarmament led straight to Hitler, and are matters from which lessons could certainly have been learned.

The Germans have been held responsible for two world wars, and Britain's own responsibility for the rise of Hitler to power has been conveniently shelved and forgotten, along with the words of fulsome praise about him which issued from the lips and pens of some of Britain's most eminent statesmen in 1933.

The tragedy of to-day's situation is that statesmanship is as utterly bankrupt of any inspiration towards a peaceful settlement of the problems which have arisen from the second world war as it was following upon the first world war. To talk in terms of standing firm against domination in the nuclear age is to use words which have no meaning.

Before the nuclear age the risk of war was calculated and accepted with the idea of ultimate victory; that risk cannot be taken today, since a world at war with nuclear weapons is a world doomed; and everyone knows it.

To pacify someone who has a legitimate grievance means an approach based on humility and willingness to right the grievance if possible; this would be no dishonourable appeasement, but, on the contrary, a courageous move towards peace with honour. Perhaps both East and West have legitimate grievances, about which some indication of repentance would not be a sign of weakness, but rather a criterion of understanding leadership, and of that moral strength by which mankind will be saved from the ultimate catastrophe.

Meet us in BRISTOL

Peace News readers and their friends in the West of England are invited to meet the Editor of Peace News, members of the Board and of the staff who will be in Bristol for the Peace Pledge Union AGM at

Carwardine's Cafe
Baldwin Street

Fri. April 17 at 7 p.m.

Light refreshments available

PPU RELIGION COMMISSION

Pacifist Universalist Service

3.30 p.m., SUNDAY, April 12

FRIENDS INTERNATIONAL CENTRE
32 Tavistock Square, Euston

Discourse by Arlo Tatum
"ON BEING A MISSIONARY"

Published by Peace News Ltd., 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4, and Printed in Great Britain by Fish & Cook Ltd., 135 Fonthill Road, N.4